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Spring 2019

American Grand Strategy

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DIPL 6132: American Grand Strategy
School of Diplomacy and International Relations
Seton Hall University
Spring 2019

Professor: Sara Bjerg Moller
Email: mollersb@shu.edu
Office: McQuaid Hall, 101C
Office Hours: T/W 12:30-1:30 pm (or by appt.)

Time: W 5:00-7:10 pm
Location: Stafford Hall 208

Course Description

This course examines the formulation, implementation, and outcomes of American grand strategy. Because grand strategies are never constructed in isolation of past experiences, however, the first part of the course explores the ways in which other great powers have traditionally “done” grand strategy, with special attention given to the case of Great Britain. The majority of the course explores patterns of continuity and change in American grand strategy, from its early founding through the Cold War and containment, to the post-Cold War debates on strategies of engagement, primacy, democracy promotion, and offshore balancing. Core questions explored in this course include: How are grand strategies chosen? What constitutes a successful/failed grand strategy and how can we tell? What should be the grand strategy of the United States for the 21st century?

Prerequisites

There are no formal prerequisites. However, students are expected to be familiar with the main theories and core concepts of the international relations literature. Students who have not taken or are currently taking *DIPL 6000: International Relations Theory* should discuss with the instructor whether this course is appropriate at this stage.

Course Requirements

- **Attendance and Participation.** All students must attend class regularly and on time, as well as *actively* participate in class discussions.
- **Complete the Readings.** Students must complete the readings *prior* to class. **Warning:** The reading load for this class is heavy, averaging more than 100 pages per week. Students who do not do the readings will not succeed in this class. Reading – like any skill – takes practice. But the more you do it, the better (and faster) you become at it.
- **Complete all Assignments.** The major assignment for the course is a policy memo. In addition, students will be asked to give two briefings in class.

Textbooks and Readings

The class is arranged around four main texts:

- *The Making of Strategy; Rulers, States, and War*, eds. Williamson Murray, MacGregor Knox, and Alvin Bernstein (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
- Hal Brands, *What Good is Grand Strategy?: Power and Purpose in American Statecraft from Harry S. Truman to George W. Bush* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014).
- *Walter McDougall, *Promised Land, Crusader State: The American Encounter with the World Since 1776* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997).
- *William Martel, *Grand Strategy in Theory and Practice: The Need for an Effective American Foreign Policy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

*The McDougall and Martel books can be accessed via Blackboard and do not need to be purchased.

Additional readings can be found on the Blackboard site that has been established for this course.

Assignments and Evaluation

Course grades will be based on the following criteria:

- **Class Participation (30%)** Students are expected to attend class on time and come prepared to discuss the weekly readings. Active participation in discussions is a requirement for doing well in this class. NB: Active participation requires doing the readings, in full. Students who do not do the readings, will not do well in this class.
- **Policy Briefing (20%)** During the course of the semester, each student will give one short policy briefings describing the significance of a historical document. The sign-up sheet will be circulated on the first day of class. Students who are absent on the first day of class will be assigned a slot by the professor.
- **Policy Memo (50%)** The major assignment for the course is a **five-page policy memo**. Memos are due at the start of class in **Week 11**. (Students should bring hard copies of their memos to class on the day their memo is due. Electronic submissions will not be accepted without prior permission.) Papers submitted during or after class will be graded late. (See policy regarding late/incomplete assignments, below).

To help students learn the craft of policy writing, **students will meet individually with the professor during Week 12** and receive feedback on their memos. Students will then rewrite the memo taking into account the feedback they received, and hand in the revised memo on 5/1 (**Week 15**).

The first memo is worth 20%. The second memo is worth 30%.

Prompt: You are a member of the Policy Planning Staff at the State Department. Write a memo to your boss (Sec. Pompeo) in which you lay out the range of grand strategies

currently available to the US, assess the merits and costs of each, and make a policy recommendation in favor of one.

NB: Policy memos are not like other academic assignments. For guidance on how to write a good policy memo, please consult the folder titled "How to Write a Policy Memo" on Blackboard.

Policies and Resources

- **Accommodations.** Under the Americans with Disabilities Act and Section 504 of the Civil Rights Restoration Act, students at Seton Hall University who have a disability may be eligible for accommodations in this course. Should a student require such accommodation, he or she must self-identify at the **Office of Disability Support Services (DSS), Room 67, Duffy Hall**, provide documentation of said disability, and work with DSS to develop a plan for accommodations. The contact person is Ms. Diane Delorenzo at **(973) 313-6003**.
- **Counseling.** The **Office of Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS)** offers assistance to students in need of support. CAPS is located in Mooney Hall and can be reached at **(973) 761-9500**.
- **Absences.** Students are expected to attend all class sessions and participate in discussions. If a medical situation or other emergency arises students should inform the professor via email at the earliest possible opportunity as to the reason for their absence. Unexcused absences will bring down your participation grade.
- **Late or Incomplete Assignments.** Failure to turn in a paper on its due date will result in a grade penalty. All late papers (this includes those handed in at the end of class or emailed to me during class) will be penalized by one-third letter grade per day (i.e., an A paper turned in one day late is an A-, two days late a B+, etc.) except in cases of medical or family emergency.
- **Plagiarism, Cheating and Academic Integrity.** Plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty will be reported to the administration, and may result in a lowered or failing grade for the course and up to possible dismissal from the School of Diplomacy. See university and school standards for academic conduct here:
 - <http://www.shu.edu/offices/student-life/community-standards/community-standards.cfm>
 - <http://www.shu.edu/academics/diplomacy/academic-conduct.cfm>.
- **Technology.** Technology can be beneficial as well as harmful to learning. Students will be allowed to use laptop computers during class sessions for the purposes of note taking only. All other activities (email, internet, Facebook, etc.) are prohibited during class. **Students who violate this policy will forfeit their laptop privileges.**
- **Grade Appeals.** Grades in this course are not negotiable. If you believe an error has been made in the grading of your assignment, you may make a formal appeal. All appeals should be made in writing and sent to the professor via email.
- **Email.** Before emailing the professor students should consider the following: First, always check the syllabus. Often, the answer has already been provided for you. Second, students

should include the name and section number of the course in the subject line of the email, e.g., **Subject: DIPL 6132 NA: Question about Reading**. Doing so will enable me to locate your email more quickly and hence respond more promptly. Third, students should communicate professionally, avoiding informal salutations, casual language, and emoticons. Fourth, please keep your communications brief. Complicated questions or issues are best discussed in person in office hours or by appointment. Finally, please be aware that I am usually “offline“ on the weekends. Emails sent after Friday, 5:00 pm will generally not be answered until the following Monday.

- **Weather/Closures.** The University may cancel class due to inclement weather. Information on University closings can be found on the University website or by listening to the message on the main University phone number, (973) 761-9000.
- **Disclaimer.** The instructor reserves the right to make changes to the syllabus in the course of the semester. Students will be given ample warning of any changes.

Course Calendar
Part I: Introduction

1. Introduction and Course Overview (1/16) [70]

- Peter Feaver “What is grand strategy and why do we need it?” *Foreign Policy* (April 8, 2009) **and** Peter Feaver, “8 Myths about American grand strategy,” *Foreign Policy* (Nov. 23, 2011) [12]
- Walter A. McDougall, “Can the United States do grand strategy,” *Orbis* vol. 54, no. 2 (2010): 165-184. [20]
- Robert Kagan, “Superpowers Don’t Get to Retire,” *The New Republic*, May 20, 2014. [32]
- John Schuessler and Josh Shiffrin, “Making Grand Strategy Grand Again,” *The National Interest*, July 25, 2018. <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/making-grand-strategy-grand-again-26796> [6]

Discussion Questions:

What is grand strategy?

How can historical knowledge improve policy-making?

How have the ambitions of Russia and China reshaped the international order?

Do superpowers get to retire?

Is Kagan right that the US is drifting? And, if so, when did it start?

Does Trump have a grand strategy?

What are the alternatives for US grand strategy in the current moment?

2. Defining Grand Strategy (1/23) [127]

- Richard K. Betts, “Is Strategy an Illusion?” *International Security* 25:2 (2000), pp. 5-45. [40]
- B.H. Liddell Hart, *Strategy* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1954), pp. 335-336, 366-372. [9]
- Paul Kennedy, “Grand Strategy in War and Peace: Toward a Broader Definition,” in *Grand Strategies in War and Peace* ed. Paul Kennedy (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), pp. 1-7. [7]

Hal Brands, *What Good is Grand Strategy?: Power and Purpose in American Statecraft from Harry S. Truman to George W. Bush* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), pp. 1-16. [16]

- Williamson Murray, "Thoughts on Grand Strategy," in *The Shaping of Grand Strategy: Policy, Diplomacy, and War* eds. Williamson Murray, Richard Hart Sinnreich and James Lacey (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 1-33. [33]
- H.W. Brands, "The Idea of the National Interest," *Diplomatic History* vol. 23, no. 2 (Spring 1999): 239-261. [22]

Discussion Questions:

Why is the concept of grand strategy so difficult to define?

How is strategy different from grand strategy?

How is grand strategy different from foreign or military policy?

Why do states develop grand strategies?

What is the relationship between grand strategy and war and peace?

Who gets to define the national interest?

Part II: Grand Strategy Through the Ages

3. Grand Strategy in the Ancient World (1/30) [123]

- Lawrence Freedman, *Strategy: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 22-41. [19]
- Edward Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire: From the First Century CE to the Third* (Baltimore: JHU Press, 2016), p. 1-41, 50-55. [47]
- Kimberly Kagan, "Redefining Roman Grand Strategy," *Journal of Military History* vol. 70, no. 2 (April 2006): 333-362. [29]
- William Martel, *Grand Strategy in Theory and Practice: The Need for an Effective American Foreign Policy* (Cambridge, UK: CUP, 2015), pp. 57-85. [28]

Discussion Questions:

When it comes to grand strategy, can we learn anything from the Ancients?

Did the Romans have a grand strategy?

4. The Rise and Fall of Pax Britannica (2/6) [151]

- John Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World System, 1830-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 1-36, 649-655. [42]
- Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers* (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), pp. 194-274. [80]
- Williamson Murray, "The collapse of empire: British Strategy, 1919-1945" in *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States, and War* eds. Williamson Murray, MacGregor Knox, and Alvin Bernstein (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 393-422. [29]

Discussion Questions:

What was the British grand strategy from the 18th-20th centuries? Was there more than one?

When (and why) did the British Empire collapse?

Can the US learn anything from the British experience?

Part III: U.S. Grand Strategy from 1776 to 1945

5. U.S. Grand Strategy, 1776-1914 (2/13) [102]

- McDougall, pp. 15-76. [61]
- Peter Maslowski, "To the edge of greatness: the United States, 1773-1865," in *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States, and War* eds. Williamson Murray, MacGregor Knox, and Alvin Bernstein (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 205-234. [29]
- Martel, pp. 167-208. [41]

Documents:

Washington's Farewell Address:

http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/washing.asp

Monroe Doctrine:

http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/monroe.asp

Discussion Questions:

Did the founders have a grand strategy in mind for their nascent country?

What is the historical significance of Washington's Farewell Address? Monroe Doctrine?

6. U.S. Grand Strategy, 1914-1944 (2/20) [134]

- McDougall, pp. 122-146. [22]
- Eliot A. Cohen, "The strategy of innocence? The United States, 1920-1945," in *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States, and War* eds. Williamson Murray, MacGregor Knox, and Alvin Bernstein (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 428-465. [37]
- Brands, pp. 17-58. [41]
- Martel, pp. 209-243. [34]

Documents:

Wilson's Fourteen Points:

http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/wilson14.asp

Discussion Questions:

What were the alternatives for US grand strategy after World War I?

Why did the US choose disengagement? What were the international and domestic factors that shaped America's strategic choice?

Part IV: The Cold War

7. U.S. Grand Strategy, 1945-1968 (2/27) [109]

- Wilson D. Miscamble, "Roosevelt, Truman and the Development of Postwar Grand Strategy," *Orbis* vol. 53, no. 4 (Sept., 2009): 553-570. [17]
- Steven Metz, "Eisenhower and the planning of American grand strategy," *Journal of Strategic Studies* vol. 14, no. 1 (1991): 49-71. [22]
- G. John Ikenberry, *After Victory*, 163-91. [30]
- William Stueck, "Reassessing U.S. Strategy in the Aftermath of the Korean War," *Orbis* vol. 53, no. 4 (Sept., 2009): 571-590. [19]
- John Lewis Gaddis, "Grand Strategies in the Cold War," in Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Cold War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 1-21. [21]

Documents:

The Truman Doctrine

http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/trudoc.asp

The Marshall Plan

<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1947marshallplan1.html>

George Kennan's Long Telegram

https://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/coldwar/documents/pdf/6-6.pdf

NSC 68

<http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nsc-hst/nsc-68.htm>

Discussion Questions:

What were the alternatives for US grand strategy after World War II?

Why did the US adopt a strategy of containment? What were the "distinct characteristics" of this strategy?

How did the international order change after WWII?

According to Kennan, what is the "fundamental design of the Kremlin," and what is the "nature of the conflict" between the US and the USSR?

Describe the vision of US grand strategy articulated in NSC 68. How does it compare to earlier visions of US grand strategy?

8. U.S. Grand Strategy, 1968-1989 (3/6) [129]

- Mark Moyer, "Grand Strategy after the Vietnam War," *Orbis* vol. 53, no. 4 (Sept., 2009): 591-610. [19]
- Brands, pp. 59-143. [84]
- Martel, pp. 273-299. [26]

Discussion Questions:

What effect did the Vietnam War have on US grand strategy?

Did Reagan have one or two grand strategies?

Why did the Cold War end?

9. U.S. Grand Strategy after the Cold War (3/20) [149]

- Charles Krauthammer, "The Unipolar Moment," *Foreign Affairs* vol. 70, no. 1 (Winter 1990/1991): 23-33. [11]
- William C. Wohlforth, "The Stability of a Unipolar World," *International Security* vol. 24, no. 1 (Summer 1999): 5-41. [36]
- Barry R. Posen and Andrew L. Ross, "Competing Visions for U.S. Grand Strategy," *International Security* vol. 21, no. 3 (Winter 1996/1997): 5-53. [48]

- Christopher Layne, "From Preponderance to Offshore Balancing: America's Future Grand Strategy," *International Security* vol. 22, no. 1 (Summer 1997): 86-124. [38]
- Jeremi Suri, "American Grand Strategy from the Cold War's End to 9/11," *Orbis* vol. 53, no. 4 (Sept., 2009): 611-627. [16]

Documents:

Excerpts from the 1992 Defense Planning Guidance
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/iraq/etc/wolf.html>

Bush 1991 National Security Strategy
<http://history.defense.gov/HistoricalSources/NationalSecurityStrategy.aspx>

Clinton 1994 National Security Strategy
<http://history.defense.gov/HistoricalSources/NationalSecurityStrategy.aspx>

Clinton 2000 National Security Strategy
<http://history.defense.gov/HistoricalSources/NationalSecurityStrategy.aspx>

Discussion Questions:

What grand strategies were available to the US after the Cold War?

Did the US have a grand strategy in the 1990s? If so, what was it?

Should the US embrace offshore balancing? Why/why not?

Are we still in the Unipolar Moment?

10. NO CLASS— ISA (3/27)— Work on Memos

11. U.S. Grand Strategy and 9/11 (4/3) *Memos Due* [150]

- John Lewis Gaddis, "A Grand Strategy of Transformation," *Foreign Policy* no.133 (Nov./Dec. 2002): 50-57 and John Lewis Gaddis, "Grand Strategy in the Second Term," *Foreign Affairs* 84 (Jan/Feb 2005): 2-15. [20]
- *To Lead the World: American Strategy After the Bush Doctrine*, eds. Melvyn P. Leffler and Jeffrey W. Legro (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 1-10, 11-35, and 250-276. [60]
- Brands, pp. 144-189. [45]
- Colin Dueck, *The Obama Doctrine: American Grand Strategy Today* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 1-33. [33]

Documents:

Bush Address to Congress, September 20, 2001 ("Bush Doctrinel")

<http://www.september11news.com/PresidentBushSpeech.htm>

Bush 2002 National Security Strategy

<http://history.defense.gov/HistoricalSources/NationalSecurityStrategy.aspx>

Bush Graduation Speech at West Point ("Bush Doctrine II")

<http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/06/print/20020601-3.html>

Obama National Security Strategy 2010

<http://nssarchive.us>

Obama National Security Strategy 2015

<http://nssarchive.us>

Discussion Questions:

How did the 9/11 attacks reshape US grand strategy?

Describe the Bush and Obama administrations' grand strategies. What were their objectives, and how did they seek to achieve those ends?

12. No Class (4/10)– Meet with Professor to discuss policy memo

Part V: Grand Strategy in the 21st Century

13. Debating the Liberal International Order (4/17) [79]

- Bruce Jentleson, "The Post-Liberal International Order World: Some Core Characteristics," *Lawfare Blog*, September 9, 2018. Available at: <https://www.lawfareblog.com/post-liberal-international-order-world-some-core-characteristics> [3]
- G. John Ikenberry, "The end of liberal international order?" *International Affairs*, Vol. 94, Issue 1, (Jan. 2018), pp. 7-23. [16]
- Patrick Porter, "Why America's Grand Strategy Has Not Changed: Power, Habit, and the U.S. Foreign Policy Establishment," *International Security* 42(4) Spring 2018, pp. 9-46. [37]
- Michael J. Mazarr, "The Real History of the Liberal Order: Neither Myth Nor Accident," *Foreign Affairs*, August 7, 2018. [4]
- Jake Sullivan, "The World After Trump: How the System Can Endure," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2018. [19]

Discussion Questions:

Was the (L)IO ever real?

How have the ambitions of Russia and China reshaped the international order?

Does Trump have a grand strategy?

What are the alternatives for US grand strategy in the current moment?

14. Grand Strategy and China I (4/24) [120]

- Arthur Waldron, "Chinese strategy from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century," in *The Making of Strategy: Rulers, States, and War* eds. Williamson Murray, MacGregor Knox, and Alvin Bernstein (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 85-114. [29]
- Alastair I. Johnston, *Cultural Realism: Strategic Culture and Grand Strategy in Chinese History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 33-49, 248-266. [34]
- Feng Zhang, *Chinese Hegemony: Grand Strategy and International Institutions in East Asian History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015), pp. 1-46. [46]
- Wang Jisi, "China's Search for a grand strategy," *Foreign Affairs* vol. 90 (March/April 2011): 68-79. [11]

Discussion Questions:

Is strategic culture the same thing as grand strategy?

Did Ancient China have a grand strategy?

15. Grand Strategy and China II (5/1) *Final Memos Due* [89 and Watch Debate]

- Michael D. Swaine and Ashley J. Tellis, *Interpreting China's Grand Strategy: Past, Present, and Future* (Washington, DC: RAND, 2000), pp. 1-20. [20]
- Robert D. Blackwell and Ashley J. Tellis, *Revising U.S. Grand Strategy toward China*, CFR Special Report No. 72 (March 2015): 3-39. [36]
- Aaron Friedberg, "Globalization and Chinese Grand Strategy," *Survival* (2018), p. 7-40. [33]
- Watch "Debate: Are U.S. and China Long-Term Interests Fundamentally Incompatible," Brookings/Yale, October 30, 2018. Available at: <https://www.brookings.edu/events/the-china-debate-are-us-and-chinese-long-term-interests-fundamentally-incompatible/>

Discussion Questions:

Are U.S. and Chinese strategic interests compatible?

Can China rise without war?